1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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torts committed by its members has also disappeared. Instead, there is both a great increase in the number of cases treated as offences against the state; murder, manslaughter and grievous bodily injury being no longer treated as offences against a group of kin, but as crimes against the state; and a great extension in the *range* of law. A modern Nyakyusa has no difficulty in suing a debtor, or the seducer of his wife, living in another chiefdom.

Nevertheless neighbours still feel a certain obligation for the maintenance of each other's rights. For example, a certain young man eloped with a very young girl, who, though betrothed, had not yet reached puberty. On their way out of the district they were seen by a 'village father' of the girl, who brought them back to her father, and then joined with him and other neighbours in beating the young man and taking him to the chief. The youth admitted his fault in seducing so young a girl and asked the chief to summon his father-in-law (for he was already married) that he might borrow from his father-in-law the cattle with which to pay the fine for seduction. But his father-in-law was a neighbour of the father of the girl he had seduced, and he refused to lend any cattle, saying, 'You have run off with the daughter of my neighbour in the village: that means you have wronged *me*.'

And a group of herd-boys are still liable to be treated by their fathers as responsible for one another. One informant, discussing a case of bestiality committed by a herd-boy, remarked that the leader of the group forbade the others to mention it at home on the ground that 'if our fathers know they will say that we all (in this herd group) do it.'

d. Social separation

One of the mechanisms for maintaining good relations in Nyakyusa villages (as in all groups) is the *separation* of the dissident individual from the group.[1] This separation may be compulsory or voluntary. As we have seen, witches, thieves, adulterers, and obstinate debtors were formerly banished from Nyakyusa villages because they were regarded as a danger to their neighbours, liable to harm them directly or to bring retribution upon them. The village, being held responsible for certain actions of its members, and forming a defensive unit against the sup-

[1] *cf.* G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 60-1.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938):1951 F'N17 Ngonde F'N17
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16. THINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WITCHCRAFT

Mwaimumo (ibid).

1. 'Bestiality. This is associated with witchcraft (*nya ha lua*) because, it is said, witches eat the flesh of human beings which an ordinary person does not eat—ordinary people all avoid human flesh. One who has intercourse with an animal, a thing which an ordinary person does not do but avoids, is like one who eats human flesh.'

2. 'Intercourse with a very young girl. This is associated with witchcraft because no one desires it, only this person' (i.e. such a desire is abnormal).

3. 'Intercourse with a very old woman. This is associated with witchcraft because no one desires old women.'

4. 'Intercourse between a grown man and a boy. This is associated with witchcraft because grown men always desire women.'

In reply to a question: 'No, it never happens that two grown men lie together, but youths do. That is not associated with witchcraft; that is adolescence.'

5. 'If a woman takes something very dirty (such as excrement) and puts it on her husband's bed, or in his food, because she hates him, that is associated with witchcraft because it is very, very dirty. No one (normal) does such a thing.'

In reply to a question: 'No, if children play with excrement, that is not associated with witchcraft.'

6. 'In Selya we do not eat the meat of a leopard though in Kukwe country they do. If a Selya man tastes it people say: "How can he eat leopard meat which no one eats? It's like witchcraft." Leopard meat is forbidden because leopards kill and eat people.

'So with the meat of a dog or rat or monkey. A dog is not eaten because it's our friend—a person—and a monkey is a person.'

[p.225]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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[illegible] we must perform the
[illegible] ritual I come together with my wife again, but if our child is unmarried
[illegible] it is taboo to procreate a child, we practise coitus interruptus, the semen
[illegible] falls on the mat. . . . This is until the girl goes to her husband, until she
is married. If my wife wears a bark-cloth I say to her during our
daughter's puberty ritual: 'Arrange your bark-cloth carefully lest I,
the man, desire you, I shall catch hold of you and we will cause the
shade to make our child harvest.' When she has gone to her husband
we say our shade has finished, he has gone away in the water. Our
child has gone to another shade. Yes, she also has intercourse with her
husband at his home, but that does not matter, I have intercourse with
my wife.

834 He was emphatic that the parents begin full intercourse as soon as the girl goes to her husband, it is not necessary to wait for her to become pregnant.

833 Questioner: What do the spirits do in intercourse?

778 Mwanakatwe: The shade causes my penis to stand up and says: 'Go to the woman, there.' And also the woman's shade says: 'Your husband comes into you.' It is the shades which create desire, then we have intercourse, the shades meet together, here—the woman's—and mine. If I do not go to my wife the shade says: 'Why, what's wrong with my place? Are there thorns? Why do you not enter?' They brood over (bikokela) us both, both me and my wife.

Questioner: What do they want?

Mwanakatwe: They want to create a child.

813 Questioner: Why then do men desire masturbation and sodomy? [At
773 first when I asked this he said: 'No, the shade is a woman,' but then he
●439 corrected himself].

Mwanakatwe: It is the shade which creates this desire, we have it within. A youth masturbates, the semen falls on the ground—perhaps two youths; it's also the shade. And a woman also masturbates. . . .

778 Questioner: You perform the rituals for many reasons?

771 Mwanakatwe: Yes, if we do not perform the rituals the shade broods on us and we do not bear children. Perhaps he broods on the crops, and they do not grow well but poorly, perhaps we run mad.

On another occasion Mwanakatwe said:

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838 The shade is in the heart. It is the shade which desires to go to a woman, which causes us men to have erections and excites desire in women. If you have not got the shade you are impotent, you do not go to women. We say: 'The shade has brooded over this man, why do they not cause him to go to women?' He just looks at women. Then the shade comes up in the belly and says: 'Ha!' It comes up and the man has intercourse with a woman. If it has brooded over him, it does not